UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Where Science and Religion Are at Odds

By EDMUND H. REEMAN

Youth—and the World Today:

I. Peace and the Youth Movement

By MORTIMER B. DANIELS

II. Youth and Religion

By GRANVILLE HICKS

A Traveling Seminar in England

By CHESTER C. PLATT

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Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 19
Where Science and Religion are at Odds—EDMUND H. REEMAN 21
Jottings.—J. H. H. 22

ARTICLES—
The Strength of Nations.—*John Ruskin* 19
Youth—And The World Today:
I. Peace and the Youth Movement.—MORTIMER B. DANIELS 23
II. Youth and Religion.—GRANVILLE HICKS 26
The Story of My Mind—XXIV.—GEORGE WILLIS COOKE 28

POETRY—
"Something There Is Within a Man that Calls."—MARY CRUTTENDEN PERCY 27

CORRESPONDENCE—
A Traveling Seminar in England—CHESTER C. PLATT 30

THE FIELD—
Purpose and Methods of Commonwealth College.31
The Ethical Church 32
Resolutions on China 32

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVI MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1925 NUMBER 2

THE STRENGTH OF NATIONS

We are continually assuming that nations become strong according to their numbers. They indeed become so, if those numbers can be made of one mind; but how are you sure you can stay them in one mind, and keep them from having north and south minds? Grant them unanimous, how know you they will be unanimous in right? If they are unanimous in wrong, the more they are, essentially the weaker they are. Or, suppose that they can neither be of one mind, nor of two minds, but can only be of *no* mind? Suppose they are a mere helpless mob; tottering into precipitant catastrophe, like a wagon load of stones when the wheel comes off. Dangerous enough for their neighbors, certainly, but not "powerful" . . .

The strength is in the men, and in their unity and virtue . . . A little group of wise hearts is better than a wilderness full of fools. . .

Remember, no government is ultimately strong, but in proportion to its kindness and justice; and that a nation does not strengthen, by merely multiplying and diffusing itself. . . A nation need not boast itself of multiplying . . if it multiplies only as flies or locusts do, with the god of flies for its god.

—John Ruskin, (In 1866).

With the controversy over aeronautics precipitated by Col. William Mitchell we are not concerned in UNITY. We know nothing about aeronautics; and, in any case, this highly specialized branch of mechanics lies quite outside the interests represented by our paper. But there are aspects of this dispute, as set forth in Col. Mitchell's original statement, which concern us very nearly, for they have to do with government, with the democratic system of social organization, with popular rights, with common, every-day honesty. Col. Mitchell charges, in his attack on army and navy administration, that officers give to Congress and to the people "incomplete, misleading, or false information"; that the military bureaucrats in Washington "either distort facts or openly tell falsehoods"; that "the war and navy departments maintain public propaganda agencies" which deliberately deceive the public and coordinate branches of government; that the joyriding voyage of the Pacific fleet to the Antipodes was a stupendous advertising job to glorify the service and fool the people into renewed expenditures for useless naval up-keep; that the Shenandoah, when going West, was "on a propaganda mission for the navy department to offset the adverse publicity caused by the failures in the Pacific and the Arctic." These are serious charges —that the government is engaged in deceiving and exploiting the people by deliberate methods of propaganda—and we believe them, every one! We saw enough official lying during the War by cabinet ministers, diplomats, generals, admirals, to last us for a life-time. We wouldn't believe a secretary of state or an ambassador on oath. We take it for granted that the word of a naval or military officer, active in the service, is a falsehood unless proved otherwise. An "official" statement by a government department is therewith stamped and labeled as a lie. We know of nothing quite so important to teach the American people today—the people of any nation, for that matter!—as the fact that their government officers are every day and in every way deliberately deceiving them, to quote Col. Mitchell's words, "to perpetuate their own existence, largely irrespective of the public welfare." Whether Col. Mitchell is right or wrong in his technical contentions, he is everlastingly right in his fearless attack on executive government.

Those of our readers who desire to learn something about authentic public opinion on the prohibition question—public opinion, that is, apart from the pro-liquor propaganda of the American press—are earnestly exhorted to secure a pamphlet recently issued by the *Manufacturers Record,* of Baltimore. The origin of this pamphlet is interesting. Three years ago the *Record* sent to a group of manufacturers, merchants, bankers, educators, physicians, engineers, clergymen, labor leaders, etc., a letter asking these men to express their opinion of prohibition as a national policy and of the Volstead Act as a means of enforcing this policy. The *Record* received and printed some five hundred (500) answers to its inquiry, of which only 1.5 per cent expressed any opposition either to prohibition in general or to Volsteadism in particular. The remaining and overwhelmingly impressive 98.5 per cent commended the great experiment and expressed hostility only to the obstacles in the way of its success. Since that time, three years ago, floods of water have flowed under the bridge of prohibition experience. The 18th Amendment is more than ever vociferously declared to be a failure, the Volstead Act unenforceable. Newspapers vie with one another in telling their people that the whole experiment has collapsed, and that public opinion is now rapidly changing to utter opposition to the whole business. Susceptible to these influences, of course, the *Manufacturers Record* decided to consult its list again, and thus sent out new inquiries to those whom it had questioned before. Answers were again received in nearly every case, and these have now been printed in the pamphlet above referred to. The

result is enormously impressive! *Not the slightest change of opinion anywhere appears,* except as there is a deepening of the conviction among these leaders in all walks of American life that prohibition has been of incalculable benefit to the nation. Looking over the experience of the last three years, these men almost unanimously deny that prohibition is a failure. On the contrary, they declare that it is an ever-growing success, and assert that any return to pre-prohibition conditions is unthinkable. There could be no more competent testimony than this, and it all confirms UNITY's opinion that prohibition is here to stay.

A few days after we had written the above, there appeared the September 10th issue of the *North American Review,* containing further testimony of remarkable character in favor of prohibition. Here are articles by such men as Gov. Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, Representative Cooper, of Ohio, a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Supreme Court Justice Richard J. Hopkins, of Kansas, Professor Thomas N. Carver, of Harvard University, R. H. Scott, President of the Reo Motor Company, Dr. Howard A. Kelly, of Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Walter A. Morgan, Chairman of the Law-Enforcement Committee of the Congregational Churches of the United States, and Horace D. Taft, head-master of the Taft School, Watertown, Connecticut. We can imagine no more representative list of men than this. Here are a publicist and statesman, a labor leader, a lawyer-jurist, a scholar, a business man, a physician, a clergyman, a teacher—all of them famous and influential in their respective professions. And all agree that prohibition is here to stay, that it has been a decided success during the still brief period of its operation, that "the 18th amendment brings to our people solid advantages which are more and more apparent, and more and more fully recognized." If there is any qualified statement in this symposium, it is that of Mr. Taft, who says that "an enormous amount of evil has followed the adoption of this policy"; but he contends on the other hand that much good has also come from prohibition, and concludes that the only way out of the present tangled situation is "obedience to law." Thus does the testimony accumulate! Thus does the tide set in! UNITY has been in favor of prohibition from the beginning. Jenkin Lloyd Jones was a pioneer advocate of the cause in these columns, and the present editors have followed sturdily in his foot-steps. There is nothing in UNITY's record of which we are more proud than this.

The most dramatic coincidence in connection with the Dayton trial was not the death of Bryan, but the discovery on the shores of the Lake of Galilee of one of the most ancient human skulls ever dug up from the strata of the earth. While the trial in darkest Tennessee was going on, this skull was being subjected to the light of day—a skull estimated to be not less than 20,000 years old, perhaps as much as 40,000 years. Think of the drama of the situation! On one side of the globe, a sovereign state of a supposedly civilized country was engaged in re-affirming the old idea that this planet was created some 6,000 years ago, and that the history of peoples began many centuries later with the entrance of Abraham into Palestine. On the other side of the globe, at this very spot where the Bible places the beginning of civilization, a young scientist was engaged in studying the unearthed fragment of a human skull which proves that people were living in Palestine 20,000 years or more before Abraham and his household started their alleged journey westward to the Jordan. This skull, accordingto the testimony of Sir Arthur Keith before the British Association, belongs to a species or type of human which is entirely different in structure from all the living races of mankind. At the same time it is closely related to the familiar Neanderthal type of man who lived in western Europe during the Mousterian period. This similarity adds enormously to the weight of evidence in favor of the theory that Europe is the cradleland both of man and of his social culture. "From this discovery," says Sir Arthur, "we can say that in remote times the dominant type of mankind spread abroad from its cradleland (Europe), carrying their particular methods of life with them, until a large area of the world was covered." For most of us, the interest of this "Galilean Man," as it is called, lies in the fact that it adds one more conclusive piece of evidence to the "Heidelberg Man," the "Java Man," the "Piltdown Man," and other bony fragments, proving the remote antiquity of the race. As such, its discovery marks an archeological achievement of the first order. "It will always rank," says Sir Arthur Keith, "among the important events of history."

Our friend, the *Arbitrator,* as interestingly iconoclastic as the old *Philistine* and a million times more honest and useful, is proclaiming a new religion. Or, if not actually a new religion, a "new method of interpreting religion." The *Arbitrator,* straightforward to the very core of its being, is sick and tired of the dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying of religious forces everywhere. It cites the attempt to deny the conflict between religion and science, so conspicuous these days in Modernist and Liberal circles, as an instance of this constant evasion of reality, of which the churches are so deplorably guilty. "The conflict does exist," contends the *Arbitrator,* continuing with the clarifying statement, "Not a conflict between things as they are and religion as it ought to be, but between science and religion as taught in all theological seminaries." Seeking to end this conflict on terms of essential honesty,

the *Arbitrator* calls for a new religion, "tentatively designated 'Scientific Theology.' "

We need an organization of those who wish to be religious but have outgrown the dogmas of the churches. The Community Church of New York and the Ethical Culture societies provide such an opportunity and represent the ideals for which liberals are striving. Our proposal differs from the Community Church idea chiefly in the method of separating the new from the old theology and provides a modern basis for expression of religious beliefs which more definitely eliminates dogma than can be done in a church still officially denominational. In addition to a church ministering to the particular community and largely dependent for permanence upon the personality of its ministers, there should be an association of liberal-minded people bound together by a definite principle concerning the character of revelation.

What the *Arbitrator* seeks, obviously, is a religion which shall be thoroughly and uncompromisingly scientific. Its "revelation" would be the revelation of facts, in the moral as in the natural realm, as discovered by the trained mind utilizing the accepted scientific method. We have here a kind of renaissance of Positivism, with the crude agnosticism and flamboyant ecclesiasticism of that 19th century school eliminated.

"Based upon the universality of religion," says the *Arbitrator*, "Scientific Theology expresses faith in the realities of the universe and entirely avoids the superstitions that have misled Christendom and Jewry. There will be no conflict between science and religion under the new interpretation, for the new religion is to be developed upon factual foundations susceptible of proof, whose spiritual revelations will be comparatively dependable.

We welcome this proclamation. Of course, we have our criticisms; thus, we don't like that word "Theology," and we question if Liberals, of the Unitarian school, for instance, ought not to be included among those who represent something of what the *Arbitrator* has in mind. But the appeal is timely, and we advise our readers to hear more of it by addressing the office of the *Arbitrator,* 114 East 31st Street, New York.

Where Science and Religion Are at Odds

Science has no quarrel with those spiritual perceptions and moral enthusiasms that are the glory of religion, neither has it any quarrel with the faith that risks its all in sublime adventure. Where science falls foul of religion, if foul it falls at all, is in respect to quite other matters. Perhaps it is altogether unfair to seem to yield our assent to the newly revived assumption that there is any real conflict between science and religion. Many scientists are devoutly religious men, and an increasing number of the best religionists are showing themselves more and more friendly to the scientific method. We have yet to learn that the scientific mind has anything but the most thorough-going respect for genuine religious experience, and as for religion it is difficult to see how there can be anything in the nature of conflict between pure and undefiled religion and the patient struggles of science in the direction of an enlarged knowledge and better understanding of ourselves and the world we live in.

The fact, of course, is that it is not science and religion that are in conflict at all, but science and dogma. That there should be conflict, even warfare, here is in no way surprising, for in every essential way dogma, buttressed as it commonly is either by ecclesiasticism, or by ignorance, is in diametric opposition to almost everything that science holds sacred. It is not such a far cry after all from the medieval Inquisitor and his hatred of Copernicus and Galileo to the modern Fundamentalist and his scorn of Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and in particular the evolution theory *in toto,* nor is there very much difference either in the nature of the opposition of Inquisitor and Fundamentalist to the advance of scientific learning, or in the spirit of their general protest. There is no gainsaying the eternal conflict that exists between dogmatism and science, though even here the fact needs to be emphasized that it is usually dogmatism and not science that takes the warpath and dons the war paint. Usually the scientist is too much engaged in his own business to want to engage in warfare with anyone, and it is quite the exception to find the reputable scientist going out of his way to say anything against the crassest sort of religious dogmatism. On the other hand there is a form of religious dogmatism that seems never to be happy unless it is on the warpath and that is always going out of its way to seek a conflict with somebody or something. Militancy is its first and last as well as its middle name, and it never fights so bitterly as when it seems most conscious that its own cause is a losing one.

Even the purest religious revivals and the profoundest religious awakenings tend easily to irrationality and fanaticism, but the thoroughgoing dogmatist is nothing if he is not a fanatic. This is not to suggest that the dogmatist may not be perfectly sincere, it is simply to say that crusades are his natural bent and habit. He simply cannot live long without them.

The fundamental issue between the dogmatist and the scientist remains pretty much what it has always been, though warfare usually wages around some point that does not always reveal its roots. The fundamental difference—the difference that lies just as much at the root of the older dogmatic conflicts of earlier days—really relates to the nature of truth and knowledge. To the scientific mind truth is something to be earnestly pursued and patiently sought and knowledge is something that is built up by slow laborious steps and much painful struggle and effort. To the dogmatic mind, on the other hand, truth is not something that we discover, but something that is revealed, and knowledge is the stock in trade of revealed truth which the particular dogmatist already has in his possession.

This point is capable of wide and diverse illustration, but one of the simplest and commonest evidences

of it is seen in the ordinary reactions of a scientific mind and a dogmatic mind to reasoned opposition. Challenge the scientist's theory, and if he be a thorough-going scientist he will immediately bring into court a whole regiment of supporting facts and exhibits, and if, acknowledging his facts you dispute him still further, and especially if you propound some counter theory in explanation of his facts, he will, assuming his genuine scientific mind and interest, immediately become your most rapt listener in the outlining of your opposing theory. But challenge the dogmatist's theory, in the name of no matter what more strongly reasoned argument, and you are on a sure road to bring upon yourself the full curses of damnation and the whole catalogue of anathemas.

That is one of the curious, even amusing things, about arguing with a dogmatist (if you have ever tried it) that immediately you find yourself in opposition not merely to an individual, who not infrequently has opened the conversation with an earnest expression of solicitude for your eternal welfare, but in opposition to God Almighty and the whole retinue of a heavenly court of patriarchs and angels.

Presumably even dogmatists change their ideas occasionally, but whenever we have been in argument with one we have always had forced upon us the conclusion that the dogmatist's particular idea was the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Usually, too, it has happened that the more ignorant and unreasoned the idea the more its inviolable immutability has been upheld.

In contrast with the dogmatist, the scientist is commonly a very modest person. He suggests a man who is surer of the things he does not know than of the learning he has already attained. Always he carries with him the consciousness of "the oceans unexplored." Truth is something he does not claim to have captured whole. If he feels that he is getting at truth at all, he knows that he is getting at it only bit by bit.

A different idea of knowledge and a different theory of truth—these are what lie at the roots of the conflict between science and dogmatism. And between a religion that has supernaturalism as the main basis of its knowledge and the sole authority of its truth science cannot be other than forever at odds.

Your typical Fundamentalist of today will not infrequently admit that he knows very little about scientific knowledge, and as a matter of fact, what he commonly pretends to know about evolution is usually wrong, but he is alarmed about the progress of scientific knowledge because it seems to controvert what he holds as deep and cherished convictions, because, in short, scientific knowledge suggests a different sort of a world, and a different sort of a history for man, and a different sort of an ideal to be pursued from what he has always believed in.

The reason for this is perfectly plain if we reflect a moment. It is mainly because as the Fundamentalist conceives religion, indeed as religion has been quite commonly conceived for many generations, it has even more to do with our thinking than with our living. Until quite lately, in fact, religion has served a definitely two-fold place in human affairs. At one and the same time it has been made to cater to man's aesthetic and spiritual needs and also to man's intellectual, and philosophical needs.

Curious as it may seem it is in man's insatiable intellectual necessities that we find the chief explanation of the long conflict with religion that has marked the whole course of developing scientific research and knowledge. And it happened presumably in this way, that long before the dawn of science religion, or at any rate the priests of religion, undertook to cater to man's intellectual necessities as best they might. They made, however, the direful mistake of tying up under the same name two things that have no necessary connection. They tied up man's feelings of awe and reverence in the presence of the marvelous and mysterious, indeed all the mighty mystic yearnings and spiritual hungers of his being with certain very definite theories about the nature and origin of things—theories, unfortunately, that were grounded not in knowledge but in speculation and surmise.

To this day, and frequently even in the highest forms of its presentation, Christianity, for instance, is presented as actually and primarily and above everything else a *theory* of life and the world.

Not until this fact is more widely acknowledged shall we be in any position to appreciate the amazing contributions of science to a better understanding of the world we live in, and to realize that if there is infidelity in the world today it attaches rightly to those who out of false zeal or benighted understanding seek to bind religious faith and endeavor to the outgrown surmises of remote antiquity, or to tie up their enthusiasms with some particular theory of the origin of the world and man.

EDMUND H. REEMAN.

Jottings

On the Sunday following the earthquake at Santa Barbara, a great community service of all the Protestant churches of the city was held in the Alameda. Why should the men and women thus gathered together in common worship ever separate again? Why not a Santa Barbara Community Church for all services in joy and prosperity, as for this one service in calamity?

Austrian affairs are not progressing as well as had been hoped.—New York *Times* (August 30th).

Of course not, for the hopes were based not on facts

but on the League of Nations myth! The League has failed in Austria, and it is a happy thing that this fact at least, and at last, is being recognized.

Francois Porche in the *Living Age* gives a list of "true Europeans." These are Anatole France, Ibsen, Tolstoi, Maeterlinck, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, and Unamuno. To these we would at least add Nexo, Brandes, E. D. Morel, and Stefan Zweig. What others are there?

Speaking of Brandes, this great thinker refuses to be deceived by superficial signs of recovery in Europe. Striking the balance-sheet of conditions since the War, he finds "a deficit." As for the League of Nations, he says, "I must bite my tongue to keep from saying something unkind about it." Is it not significant that "true Europeans"—Rolland, Wells, Shaw, Brandes—are all alike hostile to the League? Only nationalists care about it—*for good reason!*

Latest reports from Moscow state that the death-rate in that city for last year (1924) showed a decrease of 9.2 per cent as compared with the last year before the war, 1913. The marriage rate showed an increase of more than 100 per cent. Although the population has increased during this period, the number of suicides was 310 in 1924 as compared with 360 in 1913. Such a record, after such an experience of war, revolution, pestilence and famine, speaks wonders for the Soviet Government.

No church is yet called after a man who is merely rich.—Theodore Parker, in "The American Scholar," p. 25.

We have moved some since Parker's day, as see the "Rockefeller Church" in New York City.

J. H. H.

Youth—and the World Today

[What are our young men and women thinking about today? Here are two illuminating answers to the question—one presented to the Unitarian Church in Denver, Colorado, the other to the Boston Community Church.—Ed.]

I.—Peace and the Youth Movement

We hear a good deal nowadays about war and peace; we hear about the necessity for outlawing war; from every side comes the voice of a bruised and hurt humanity crying out against the brutality of the thing. We hear a great deal also about youth—nothing very complimentary. Down upon the head of youth, particularly the youth of our colleges, has come a perfect torrent of abuse echoed and centered in the best sellers of the day—"This Side of Paradise," "Town and Gown," "The Plastic Age," and probably a half-score of other novels. Youth is painted as flippant, pleasure-seeking, irresponsible, and immoral—at least half-true, the enlightened of us will admit.

Hereon, for convenience, I am going to use "You" meaning the generation in power, our elders, our betters; and "Us" meaning the youth for whose well-being You express so much concern, at the same time doing no more to better the situation than repeating the cruel gossip, holding up your hands in horror, and saying, "What are the young people today coming to?"

The purpose of this paper is to set forth two things: First, the necessity for peace, or rather the necessity for a complete assurance that any future war will be justified, for I shall not take the extreme view that war is never justified. That is probably true, too, because, in turning over the pages of history, where can the story of a war be found the cause of which could not have been settled with justice and mercy in some other way. It is interesting to note what one of our greatest warriors has to say about this. Ulysses S. Grant said,

> Though I have been trained as a soldier, and participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not be found to prevent the drawing of the sword.

However, to show that war is never necessary may well be the purpose of another paper, let this be only that war is *rarely* necessary. The second matter I shall set out, is that youth should come into a share of management in the shaping of its own destiny. You must take Us into partnership in the conduct of affairs of government, in so far, at least, as it concerns Us directly—*We must not* be sent into another war without having something to say about it ourselves. But we are the ones to bring this about. We must insist that You accept Us into partnership. You will hang onto the reins of government with the natural reluctance of those in power to relinquish any share of that power, to which will be joined the equally natural distaste for change of any sort shown by those whose habits are set.

Why must we have peace? Is not war a good thing? It stimulates invention. True, but could not this be accomplished just as effectively with some different spur? It increases temperance, and it advances medical science and sanitation. Yes, but these benefits, also, could be just as effectively brought about with some spur other than that of war. It also prevents overpopulation. According to one Malthus, founder of the Malthusian Theory, population tends to increase faster than does the production of food to support the increased population. War will prevent such overpopulation. Yes, but that is rather a costly and inhuman way to prevent increase in numbers of human-kind. Isn't it more humane and just as effective to practice birth control? Probably the only good that comes of war, the only real good, is that it removes a dry rot that will grow upon a civilization, self-sustaining and self-satisfied. Sir James M. Barrie, in an address to the students at St. Andrew's University, Scotland, said, ". . . there is a form of anaemia that is more rotting than even an unjust war." That is true, and a war, just or unjust, will cure it. But as our own Dr. Gilmour said in one of his recent sermons, "We don't clean house by smashing everything in it." Why, therefore, need we clean out the stagnation in our civilizations by smashing much of them?

The fact is that peace is becoming absolutely neces-

sary to the continuation of civilization. When it becomes possible to wipe out a city the size of New York together with every atom of human life within its walls in two hours by means of poison gas bombs dropped from airplanes; when, by the mere pressure of a button, whole armies can be exterminated; the necessity for peace is not simply a matter of humanitarian interest, but conditions the very existence of the human race. On this subject, there is a very interesting book by Winston Churchill entitled, "Shall We Commit Suicide?" Perhaps permanent peace may be hastened by this realization that it is necessary to the continued existence of human life. Its necessity out of feelings of common humanity seems thus far to have failed of much accomplishment.

Recently, I read "The Downfall" by Emilé Zola. It is probably the best war story ever written. Realistic as to every detail, it paints war in all its horror sparing none of its gruesome and revolting aspects. Why should thousands, millions, of young men, the flower of a nation's life go out to stab, shoot, and crush similar thousands of the youth of another nation without bearing the least rancor against them personally? If they do feel that they hate their opponents as individuals, it is a feeling translated from the hate of the opposing power.

Let us consider for a moment what war really is. War is not personal. It is merely the survival of the primitive conception of group responsibility. That is all. And here we are, calling ourselves civilized, and espousing one of the conceptions of the most primitive societies, the ethnologist will tell you, that of group responsibility. I thought, when I finished reading "The Downfall," that it would be a good field of endeavor for some ethical-minded philanthropist—I don't think they are all ethically minded—to present to every king, every president, every member of every legislative body, and the representatives of big-business who exert pressure to cause war in view of great profits one copy of "The Downfall," so that they might read it to remind them of what they were doing when they plunged a nation into war. This might prevent rash action, and our philanthropist might have to give less money to establish orphan asylums as a result. My imagination did not stop there, but went on. In the event that our kings, our parliaments, or our presidents and business magnates were still obdurate about the matter, there could be arranged a personal encounter between all the individuals interested, at which time they might pummel each other to their hearts' content, while the world could go on undisturbed. Silly idea? Probably. But it is not the subject of this address. At any rate, few will disagree with the conclusion that war is seldom, if ever, necessary.

Now we come to the consideration of the part We, youth, should and must take in administration of national matters which vitally concern us. You ask why we should have any say in a declaration of war. We answer, "We are the ones who have to fight it. You willingly give us the big share in that." I am sure that I am safe in saying that, were the ones who fought the last war, the same ones who would have to fight again when occasion might arise, there would be no war. Had they any voice or not in its launching, they would never go to war again. I heard one young man say—perhaps he said a little more than he meant—"In the event of another war, I shall take a room with outside exposure at Ft. Leavenworth before I go to fight."

"Well," You say, "Youth must show itself competent, before it can be given any share in national decisions. Youth is doing quite the opposite. Why, you, yourself, just admitted a while ago that half the criticism of youth is true." That is so it is. But it is largely Your fault. The character of Wilfrid Desert in Galsworthy's, "The White Monkey," expresses the situation very well, when, in speaking of the war and its effect upon him, he says,

> I lived so long with horror and death; I saw men so in the raw; I put hope of anything out of my mind so utterly, that I can never more have the faintest respect for theories, promises, conventions, moralities, and principles. I have hated too much the men who wallowed in them while I was wallowing in mud and blood. Illusion is off. No religion and no philosophy will satisfy me—words, all words . . . . I am dangerous, but not so dangerous as those who trade in words, principles, theories, and all manner of fanatical idiocy to be worked out in the blood and sweat of other men. The war's done one thing for me—converted life to comedy. Laugh at it—there's nothing else to do.

The youth who did not go to the war feels more or less the same way. We feel that You made an awful botch out of the war. More than ever before is youth searching for a working philosophy of life. About as far as many of them have gone, and these are the ones of Us You so unmercifully criticize, is to a feeling of "What's the use? Nothing matters." This is the dangerous stage, "Nothing Matters." Staying there, a youth becomes the irresponsible, selfish, immoral person that you read about in your yellow press. These young people exist, but I maintain that they are comparatively few. But You can help Us over that stage of "Nothing Matters," those of Us who are unable to pass beyond it ourselves. Leave off your passive acknowledgment or active slander, and offer constructive help. What *will* help is a modern religion. Unitarianism will do splendidly; Dogma will not, the modern youth knows too much for that. This point is important, tho; this religion must get over to youth under a different label than religion. Religion is bosh. Seven out of ten college students will tell you, if you ask them, that they have no religion. Furthermore, half of youth's deviltry, if you will excuse the term, is a natural reaction to the avalanche of accusation and slander that the modern press has heaped up. Youth, with the characteristic American mixture of bravado and stubbornness, says, "If that's the way they think we are, we will be that way. We'll give them something to talk about."

But, let us turn our attention to the other side, that, I firmly believe, of the majority—the side of serious-minded youth. Serious-minded youth is a very inspiring thing. A phrase I once heard applied to the Pilgrim Fathers, I like also to apply to serious-minded youth—"They were men of faith, and very sure of God." With such a character, great progress can be made, now no less than in 1620. And youth has not been idle. Since the war, youth has banded together in almost every land, to protest in various ways against war. I shall outline a few of the most important Youth Movements.

There is the *International League of Youth* with headquarters at 152 Abbey House, Westminster, London, S. W. 1. This organization was founded in 1921 in Denmark, and has branches in Austria, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, England, Esthonia, France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the

United States. It includes among its aims, the following:

1. To arouse among young people the spirit of brotherhood and reciprocal understanding and to combat in all domains the factors of hatred and diversion.
2. To show by education and propaganda that if every citizen has duties towards his country, he also has duties to humanity, for humanity is above countries, and national selfishness and imperialism ought to disappear.
3. To oppose abuse of power by high finance.
4. To support the principles of compulsory arbitration in all international conflicts.
5. To work for the disappearance of armaments and their replacement by an international police for securing peace.

The Confederation Internationale des Etudiants has headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, and is represented by national organizations in twenty countries. It was formed to establish a bond of understanding between students of different countries and further international good-will.

The *European Student Relief Committee* is an organization formed to aid students in all the war-stricken countries of Europe.

The *Studentsky Domov* is an international student social centre in Prague. It has over six thousand members among whom twenty-one nationalities are represented.

The *World's Student Christian Federation* has its headquarters in New York City with John R. Mott as Chairman. It is a loosely-linked group of twenty national student Christian movements, counting in all a membership of 250,000.

The *National Student Forum* of New York City, in inviting European students to the United States to speak in colleges throughout this country as one of its activities, is doing a very good work in furthering a better international understanding.

At the ninth Quadrennial Convention of the *National Student Volunteer Union* held at Indianapolis, Indiana, December 28, 1923 to January 1, 1924, four resolutions were voted upon by the members present, delegates from nearly a thousand colleges, universities, and seminaries in the United States. The result of the vote, which is typical of the opinion in most youth movements is as follows:

150 voted for the position: We believe that preparation for the emergency of war is the best way to avoid war; therefore we urge our nation so to prepare that any future war shall be brought to a speedy and righteous termination.

4,000 voted for the position: We believe that war is unchristian and should be abolished through a process of education, but that non-resistance is now impracticable, and that occasion may arise wherein it is our duty to engage in war after all means of prevention have failed.

5,000 voted for the position: We believe that war is unchristian and that the League of Nations is the best means of preventing it, but we should resort to war in case an unavoidable dispute had been referred to the League of World Court without successful settlement.

700 voted for the position: We believe that henceforth war is an utter denial of Jesus' way of life, ineffective as a means of settling difficulties between nations. Therefore, we declare our resolve not to sanction or participate in any future war.

One of the most interesting organizations and one that is doing an important work is the *Ligue de la Jeune Republique,* which is an outgrowth of a liberal Catholic group that existed before the war. Marc Sangnier, the leader, has worked constantly against the policy of violent coercion of Germany, and he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. He has made trips into all parts of France, Germany, and Central Europe. At one of the meetings he attended in Germany, the Germans collected their jewels and sent them back to France by Marc Sangnier, who showed them in the Chamber of Deputies as testimony of the willingness of the Germans to do their part in restoring a basis of understanding between the two countries. I believe the only hope for Germany and France is reflected in the activities of this organization of young people, for the older people possess ingrained in their very being such a hatred for the other country and such a desire to avenge their true or supposed wrongs that no basis of good-will and co-operation could be established between them. The monthly publication of this organization, *"L'Ame Commune,"* carries on its first page the slogan, *"L'Amour est plus que la haine."* (Love is stronger than Hate).

There are many organizations in Germany both connected with international groups and separate in themselves. The whole movement there has been said to be at bottom deeply religious, desiring "to make God ruler in this world, not merely in the beyond." At a conference at Hellerau in August, 1923, the following resolution was passed:

We send our fellow greetings to the youth of France. We regret very much that representatives of the French Youth could not come to Hellerau, and we express the wish that on future occasions French and German young people will co-operate for peace and for a new social order.

We believe that today there rests a special responsibility with the French and the German Youth for the building up of a new world in the spirit of co-operation.

There are organizations of Youth in other countries —Chile, China, Japan, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.—and almost every religious organization has its representative group of the youth of the denomination. A fairly complete outline of the Youth Movements of the world can be obtained from the *National Council for the Prevention of War* in Washington, D. C., under the title of "The Youth of the World and Peace," from which most of the foregoing brief summaries have been taken.

Last July at the national conference of the Young Peoples Religious Union of the Unitarian Churches, which was held at Star Island, and which I, as one of three delegates from our local Y. P. R. U., had the good fortune to attend, the subject of peace came up for discussion. Some members were desirous that the society take a definite stand on the question at the time. However, so many different views were expressed, ranging from a mere statement that we disapproved of war, to a pledge that none of us take part in any future war, that it was decided to postpone a definite stand until spring, at which time a questionnaire will be sent to each society. From this poll, the Y. P. R. U. will go on record definitely. Resulting from the discussion last summer, a committee was appointed to draw up a program for the study of war and peace from standpoints of economics, politics, ethics, and religion. Each individual society is devoting part of the year to a consideration of this program in its regular meetings. It was thought that by this means, no stand we may take on the matter will have been the result of snap-judgment. I have told of the organization of many Youth Movements in many countries. I exhort them to draw together in closer bonds of co-operation, for an opportunity to take a stand against a selfish war may come at any time. If such a war come, let Youth stand up and say, "We shall not go."

Denver, Colorado. MORTIMER B. DANIELS.

II.—Youth and Religion

After six years at one of the larger universities, one may be reasonably sure that he has come in contact with most of the important attitudes which youth is taking toward religion. When one has been engaged during those six years in writing for, talking to, and working with young people of one of the so-called liberal denominations, and when his duties have brought him in touch with the leaders of young people's movements in many denominations, he inevitably formulates a fairly definite opinion about the religion of youth.

Classification is always a danger but it is a convenience that can not be dispensed with. In no other way can one discuss with semblance of order the religion of youth today. I shall begin by calling attention to the fact that orthodoxy does not lack its recruits in my generation. When everything has been said about the doubts of youth, the fact remains that there are plenty of young men and young women untouched by those doubts or destined to pass from them to the reassuring certainty of their fathers. The Catholic Church will not die for a few years. Countless youths denied what we euphemistically call the advantages of a higher education will never venture to run counter to the teachings of the parish priest, and many others, schooled under the guidance of Catholic teachers, will learn to accept the conventional answers to every problem. And from my generation, as from every generation since the Reformation, men and women will seek refuge from the storms of independent thinking in the safe haven of the Church of Rome.

Likewise the Fundamentalists will have their followings. Their theological schools are well recruited; their denominational colleges are filled with students who docilely accept all that their instructors tell them. Some young men and women who have temporarily escaped from the orthodox fold will be drawn back as their courage and independence ebb. One way or another my generation will have its full quotas of Billy Sundays, John Roach Stratons, and J. Gresham Machens. The end of orthodoxy, Catholic or Protestant, is not yet.

Turning abruptly from one extreme to another, we come to a group which is most unlovely. In certain of the colleges of the country are to be found young men and young women who have no religion and nothing vaguely resembling an ethical code. Selfish to an incredible degree, they have allowed all their generous impulses to atrophy. They are living lives without purpose, governed only by passion and desire. No act is too degrading for them to commit, no attitude too contemptible for them to assume. In my own experience there are the business students who sneer at all talk of ethics in business, the law students who speak lightly of perjured witnesses, the co-eds who plan campaigns to get the most out of poor suckers. Not infrequently students of this type are intellectually able, but they turn their talents solely to their own ends, and their complete lack of idealism makes them liabilities to society. They are the inevitable product of an age when all values are doubted and all standards questioned.

Both extremes which I have described are less in evidence than the great middle class which I am about to depict. There can be little doubt that the average college man or woman is interested in religion. He will attend chapel if the speaker is well-known, he will go to lectures on religion, he will discuss religion interminably with his fellows. To this extent he is interested in religion, but the obvious thing about his interest is that it is superficial. Many people take hope from the fact that the college man of to-day is not denominationally minded, but for the most part his lack of loyalty to denominational traditions is born of ignorance and apathy. Perhaps this is a good sign, but I am inclined to think that any unity worthy of the name will be the result of an indomitable urge rather than the product of general indifference. I suspect that after a decade or two we shall find most of these youths nicely housed in the denominations that sheltered their fathers, paying less attention to them on the whole than they pay to their lodges or their Rotary Clubs, but saying very little about church unity except in remarks about the inefficiency of the churches when they are asked for contributions. They will accept Babbitt's churches just as they will accept the other elements of his social order. Once they get into business, and that is where most of our college graduates are headed, they will forget whatever doubts perplex them now.

A generation ago the interest in religion was really more striking than it is to-day. So far as religion is concerned the youth movement took place then, carefully fostered from above perhaps, but nevertheless embracing thousands of young people. The Christian Endeavor, the Y.M.C.A., and the Student Volunteer Movement came into existence at that time. All were filled with a determination to bring about a Christian world in a quarter of a century, a narrow, foolish determination, perhaps, but one which shows more courage, more faith, more interest in religion than can be found in my generation.

True enough there is more interest in the solution of national domestic problems now than there was then. The recent Student Volunteer Movement Convention in Indianapolis demonstrated the acute interest some young people are taking in the abolition of war and the elimination of other social evils. The Louisville gathering of Methodists demonstrated the same things. The Fellowship of Youth for Peace, which, before its retreat from absolute pacifism, I should have called the most vital movement of youth in America, has enough of a religious background to reflect some credit on religion. But I still contend that the vast majority of students, the class which I am describing, have scarcely felt the quickening power of a passion for social justice.

Curiously enough I cannot report that the liberals are much better off than the orthodox, much as I should like to do. I have found the young people of the liberal churches fully as lackadaisical as their supposedly orthodox brethren. Frequently they are more denominationally minded, and many of them are less progressive in their ideals for society.

Some people who admit that the situation is as black as I have painted it take hope from the fact that young people are interested in religion. I fear that their optimism is unjustifiable. The interest is superficial. For the most part the popular preachers to whom students listen are feeding them intellectual pap. As soon as they get out of college most of them will be swept into business and will then assuredly accept things as they are.

But all is not gloomy. There are some encouraging signs, some religious developments among our youth which deserve attention. The acute interest in social problems which some young people are taking, the growth of pacifism, the participation in the labor move-

ment—such are some of the hopeful phenomena. The danger is, of course, that these young people will let enthusiasm take the place of intelligence, a danger which is more than hypothetical in the case of the peace movement.

The social enthusiasts frequently, although not invariably, maintain friendly relations with the churches. Another group which I regard as hopeful exists entirely outside the churches. Our age has witnessed a striking recrudescence of paganism, which seems to take two forms, the scientific and the esthetic. In its scientific manifestation it is commonly associated with a frank philosophical materialism, an attitude usually supposed to be the negation of religion but actually the affirmation of religion in an unusual but true sense. Most scientists are religious, many are truly mystics. If their god is to be given a name, Truth will do, but whatever the name the quality of worship they accord it demands our respect.

Some young people of my acquaintance have just this point of view. Usually they maintain a kind of agnosticism, but on examination they admit that they find no reason for believing that there is anything beyond the material world. They do not flaunt their atheism but they do not deny it. Unflinchingly they pursue truth by difficult paths. Like the Stoics of old they rise superior to their personal fortunes. Accepting a doctrine of rigid determination, they nevertheless display that freedom which comes through knowledge.

Obviously not many young men and young women reach such an attitude while yet in their twenties, but some achieve it, and others show that when they have come to their full intellectual stature they will be found in this noble company. Many more youths, who also disregard the church, find satisfaction at the theatre, in concert halls, or at art galleries. People who have studied this phenomenon say that it was less in evidence before the war. Presumably that cataclysm sent youth to find a satisfaction which the church could not give, especially when it was engaged in prosecuting the war. The worship of beauty, then, a venerable type of paganism, holds many in our colleges. Some of its adherents indulge an uncritical enthusiasm, some go to absurd extremes, some are lacking in first-rate judgment, some parade an amusing cynicism, but one and all they are seeking beauty where she may be found, which, needless to say, is not in the churches.

Finally there is the serious-minded group, guided by a strong sense of social need and an unquenchable moral ardor. In varying degrees their intellectual honesty leads them to doubt the value of the church, for they penetrate the superficialities of the Modernists as easily as they toss to one side the obscurantism of the Fundamentalists. But they see that the church is a force for good and they decide to support the church for that reason, not, I think, without misgivings. Some will stay in the existing denominations, believing that by so doing they can help to bring them to an end. Not a few will go into the ministry, because they believe that if the church is worth supporting at all it is worth supporting wholeheartedly. They will have a hard time in the churches, and some will meet martyrdom, some will end in surrender, and some will reach an impasse of helplessness. Blindly leading the blind they will bring about dissensions and raise doubts that they cannot allay, but they may save the churches.

Others of this serious-minded group will break with the denominations, lending their support to the Community Church or the Ethical Culture Movement. In these pioneering enterprises they will try to develop the religion of the future. By and large they will exalt the intellect at the expense of the emotions, and they will emphasize the moral and utilitarian elements in religion while disregarding the appeal of mysticism. Thus they will sow the seeds of their failure, but they too will do good as well as harm.

After hastily surveying the field, then, I am forced to conclude that there is no youth movement in religion. Certain movements I believe to be hopeful, particularly the revival of paganism, which is not a movement at all but a vague development. If the worship of beauty could unite with the worship of truth, and if there could be added some of the moral and social fervor to be found in other groups, we should have the old pagan trinity, and I for one should be content. But even if this should happen, we must remember that the group affected would be small, while the great mass of people, still held in the clutch of orthodoxy or reposing in denominational apathy, would look with unfeigned alarm on the return of the old gods. They will stamp out the worship of beauty and truth whenever they have the opportunity, chiefly because it offends against their mediocrity.

We whose ideals are high and whose hopes are keen must be careful lest our wishes breed a bastard progeny of inaccurate thoughts. When one is dissatisfied with the present, it is sometimes very easy to see everything rosy in the future. Just as one type of mind always finds youth going to the dogs, another type has unshakeable faith that the next generation will bring in the millennium. The perennial bunk about youth as the hope of religion is dangerous because it conceals the important fact that an honest survey of the religion of youth reveals chaos in this generation just as there is chaos in the preceding generation. The road ahead is long and hard, but we shall find better guidance in honest facts than we can ever find in comforting illusions.

Cambridge, Massachusetts. GRANVILLE HICKS.

"SOMETHING THERE IS WITHIN A MAN THAT CALLS"

The people and their gods dwelt close in Rome;
Those gods could then count Rome to be their home.

They were quite fundamental to that day,
While there, within those walls, great was their sway.

—Yet vaulting minds have flouted walls!
Something there is within a man that calls!—

When Roman Legions marched on roads afar,
They heard strange tales of empire, ... and a star!

Their seeking souls built shrines, . . . lit holy lamps,
Then truth with legend vied, . . . in Roman camps.

There Mithras vied with Christus, ... quite in vain,
So then . . so now . . the truth man's heart will gain!

Something there is within a man that calls,
Constant upon the inner ear it falls.

Be it 'the Sacred Way' he walks . . . . or how—
He will be challenged, ... "Whither goest thou?"

MARY CRUTTENDEN PERCY.

The Story of My Mind

XXIV.

In the early days of my first acquaintance with socialism I heard of Marx's work on Capital as "the Bible of Socialism." This phrase was mostly used by its opponents, and yet it was in some measure accepted by socialists themselves. At least, Marx's book they regarded as a final word concerning economic principles. One socialist said to me,

> Marx settled forever the theoretical basis of socialism, and what we have now to do is to carry on the work of extending his principles until they are generally accepted.

With that conclusion I could not agree. In this respect I was controlled, I suppose, by my own history. I had not since a boy regarded the Bible as an infallible authority on religious matters, and I could not conceive of the church as a standard of authority in regard to moral conduct. I was not therefore prepared to bow down to Marx and his book, but regarded both as subjects for inquiry, for serious investigation, for constant revision and correction. I had come to the conclusion that there are no final courts of appeal in religion, morality, economics, art or elsewhere. It was a favorite expression of mine that all doors are open throughout the universe, and that one has a right, as well as a duty, to regard all questions as open questions. Darwin was being subjected to the most rigid investigation as to all his teachings, and evolutionists did not regard his explanations of the evolutionary process as final in any sense. Why should socialists regard Marx as having spoken the final word as to industrial and economic progress. To me it seemed quite evident that Marx must be revised, that all his theories were merely provisional, that every problem he opened was now in debate, and that no final solution was as yet in sight.

In another direction I was not able to bow the knee to Marx or to think that necessarily his method was the right one. I remembered that his youth fell in the first half of the nineteenth century, when Hegel was fashionable in Germany, and when all university students came within the circle of his charmed influence. If Feuerbach, Marx, Engels, and many another, finally revolted against the excesses of the Hegelian methods of thinking, none of them escaped from his manner of reasoning. Hegel learned from the Greeks, and from various other succeeding thinkers, that the dialectical manner of reasoning is the soundest, and also the most certain to give the truth desired. This manner of reasoning consisted in making an affirmation, qualifying it by its negative, and then reconciling the two with each other. In Hegel's phraseology every thesis has its antithesis, and the two can be reconciled by a process of synthesis. This method of reasoning seems to further the evolution idea, at least to the extent of indicating that one stage of development succeeds another. This was undoubtedly Hegel's application of it, and it facilitated his conception of the unfoldment of spirit into the world-forms which expressed it.

In much the same manner Marx and Engels made use of this dialectic process of reasoning in order to show how capitalism proceeds on its way, and how it will be eliminated. The thesis is that private property is the result of former labor; the negation or antithesis is that other men's labor in the capitalistic stage of development is the source of this capital, and the synthesis is the expropriation of the capitalists by the proletariat. In reality, this method of reasoning is purely metaphysical, and is in no sense scientific. The claim that it belongs especially to the proletarians, and aids them in securing just conclusions, is without foundation in fact. The conclusions drawn out by this method of reasoning on the part of Marx have nothing whatever to do with the logical process itself, and gain nothing by means of its support. In this instance, as in several others, Marx belonged to his own period, and he used its philosophy, its logic, its science, as if they were final, which they were not, or in any sense worthy of our recognition or of the acceptance of proletarians.

The method of science is not the method of the dialectic, which is purely metaphysical in its origin and processes. Science is a method of careful inquiry, of investigation, experimentation, and of trying out every proposition with reference to its validity. The scientist devises a hypothesis as an explanation of facts known to him, and if it explains them he accepts it for the time being. The moment it fails or a new body of facts is accumulated, he makes a new guess as to the explanation he is seeking. In this manner he proceeds until he has arrived at an explanation of the phenomena he is trying to interpret, which promises to stand all tests. He is always ready, however, to abandon any theory or hypothesis when new facts appear or a better theory has been devised.

It would not be just to Marx to condemn him because he followed the methods of reasoning in vogue in his day. The fact is, however, that he did not adhere to the dialectical logic in his great work on Capital, but followed the method of modern science in seeking facts and their rational explanation. Capital was the result of years of study of economic facts in England, and it contained an explanation of them in the form of his theories of the economic interpretation of history, the class struggle, surplus value, and the democratic ownership and control of the resources of the earth. In fact, Marx discarded in practice the logic of metaphysics, and followed very devotedly the logic of science.

What is probably of much more importance than the use of dialectical reasoning on the part of Marx is the claim made by socialists with reference to the immediacy of the revolutionary change. I found myself frequently querying as to the advisability of holding up to disappointed and suffering men the hope of an immediate easement of their situation by means of the speedy incoming of the Co-operative Commonwealth. I could not always refrain from the conclusion, that a great many persons were being deceived by these false hopes. Twenty years ago I was told that the great change would come in ten years. I was told ten years ago that in 1916 the socialists would elect the president of the United States. It seemed to me sometimes as if this were quite like holding out the sure promise of heaven to men who are living in wretchedness and torment in this world. There may be a heaven, and a Co-operative Commonwealth may be a certainty of the future, but why make promises in regard to that of which we have no definite knowledge?

The simple fact is that capitalism shows no weakening at present, that it is not tottering to its downfall, and that nowhere in the horizon is there promise of its sunset in any future we can positively predict. No one can wish more vigorously than I do that socialism may come in our time, that the men who are living below

the breadline may find relief, and that the intolerable evils of our civilization may speedily come to an end. To hold out to men a definite promise that these changes will come about very soon, in this decade or even in this century, is to deceive ourselves, and, more than all, is to cruelly disappoint men and women who find hope and strength in the conviction of the immediacy of the revolutionary change. It is true that their hope buoys them up and comforts them for the time being, and enlarges their lives; but I count it nothing short of cruelty to mislead trusting persons with such a delusion. We ought to recognize the fact that we know nothing whatever as to the time when the revolution will take place.

This brings me to the query as to whether it is wise to talk of a revolution when we mean only an evolution. At first the assumption of a revolutionary overturn troubled me until I learned that most socialists believe thoroughly in a peaceable change from existing conditions to those more favorable to human beings. It is true that Marx taught us that the great change is to be brought about by a revolutionary or sudden transformation of society from the domain of capitalism to the control of socialism. He did so because he belonged to a revolutionary age, when the hopes of men were fired by the expectation of the capture of all European governments by the proletarians, and the establishment of genuine democracies in their place. But autocracy and the reign of the soldier and the policeman's club were more than ever in evidence after 1848. Revolution was a failure in all but the giving birth to socialism, which was its heir, and the promise of its future. It is for this reason that socialism talks glibly of revolution when it only means orderly growth according to laws of social progress.

The real socialist, I observed, is an evolutionist of the most pronounced type, and he believes in revolution only in the sense that a radical change must be brought about by the prevention of the monopoly of the resources of life, and the exploitation of one man by another. Such a change must, however, be of such a nature that we are justified in calling it revolutionary, even though it comes about strictly in accordance with evolutionary processes. We may question, therefore, whether we ought to adhere to the use of a word which does not quite clearly express what we mean. If we do not mean a violent and terrible revolutionary change, we might properly discard the use of the word revolution.

I suppose the idea of revolution was not congenial to my mind because I had all my life been a most convinced evolutionist, and had been accustomed to applying the principles and the methods of the evolution hypothesis to the interpretation of all problems I had attempted to consider. In its light I estimated the values of theology, religion, and ethics. I was convinced that the evolution conception was not only legitimate in the explanation of these phases of human experience, but that no other genuine method was to be had. All history was illuminated by the application of the evolutionary idea, morality could be tested only with its aid, while all religions of men were to be estimated by their place in its processes. I could not think that this great idea had been properly appreciated by the teachers of religion, and while they professed to accept its conclusions, it seemed to me they not only failed to apply it vigorously, but that they rarely understood its meanings or its significance. Regarding evolution in this manner I was not at all prepared to set it aside or to recast my thinking at once to fit it into the demands of the revolutionary conception of economic changes.

This was one of the reasons why economic determinism or, more properly, the economic interpretation of history, required years for its full acceptance on my part, and even then only with reservations. I was already familiar with the cardinal conceptions of this theory of social causes, but it was the absoluteness of its application on the part of socialists which made me hesitate. It was evident enough that all individuals and all societies are dependent upon the resources of the earth for food, shelter, clothing, and all which follows after them. It was not difficult to understand that if one man can control the food supply and the means of decent living of another man, that he has control also over his life in a large measure. Nor did it demand very serious thinking to comprehend that if one class in a nation or one nation with reference to another can command these resources it has command over the other class or nation. What I could not readily accept was the conclusion, often presented and enforced with dogmatism, that all results of human activity whatever are controlled by economic conditions. Some of the more convinced interpreters of this theory said that morality, religion, art, and all human activities of every kind, were caused and determined, as to their nature and form of expression, by the economic force. This was too sweeping a statement for my acceptance, and one which the logic of economics did not demand.

In my studies of the history of woman, and especially those which led to an attempt to understand the position of women in the various stages of civilization, I had discovered the working of economic causes in a most effective manner. While this discovery merely repeated what others had already found out and clearly stated, yet it was a real discovery of my own, and was not a conclusion reached by means of the theories of others. I found that wherever women had command of economic resources they were free and independent, as in the matriarchal age, and in the later period of the Roman Empire. In one of my lectures of 1898 I said that women could secure freedom, the ballot, and political power, if they could become economically independent. It is the economic subjection of women which in considerable degree brought them into a subordinate position in the family and society, and all history sustains that conclusion. This statement, however, does not explain the whole situation, and sex is an even more important factor in the problem than the economic one. If women were no other than men of another kind, the economic influence would work for them in the same manner as it does for slaves and wage-earners. In her brilliant book on "Woman and Labor," Olive Schreiner has shown very definitely that women are not in the same position as the workers, that they must be judged by other standards, if we are to understand their peculiar type of subjection. Women are not only subjected as workers, but they are subjected because of their sex, because they are mothers, and therefore cannot toil in the same manner as men.

Because of this and other reasons I am not convinced that the economic factor is always the dominating one. The socialist contention that the economic situation enables a few men to control the life-resources of many men is a perfectly legitimate one, and is evidently based on a great number of facts of the most

positive nature. There is no need, therefore, of carrying the contention as to the influence of economics beyond this point. To make the economic theory explain everything in individual and social development is by far too sweeping a demand, is not warranted by the facts, and cannot be proved in any affective manner. The argument from economics is seriously weakened and made absurd by this extension of it, and by its dogmatic assertion. It is well to keep strictly within the limits of reason and of the evidence.

When properly stated the contention of socialists in regard to the economic interpretation of history is not only legitimate, and well supported by facts; but their acceptance of it is reinforced by a great succession of historians, sociologists, and economists of the modern and more progressive schools. It may be properly regarded, not as a dogma of socialism, but as a verified conclusion of science. It is accepted by socialists because it is scientific, and verified in innumerable ways by the facts of man's relations to his environment. It would be well, in my opinion, if the socialists ceased to claim this theory in any manner as their own, and insisted in every presentation they make of it that they are following the methods and the conclusions of verified science. When presented in that manner the economic law gains immense advantage as a socialist contention, and it will be more readily accepted by all thinking men and women. In fact, it was on this basis that it was accepted and interpreted by Marx, who fully recognized that there are other factors in the development of government and civilization than this one. If we do not regard Marx as a finality, it would be well not to insist upon presenting in his name what he did not accept. He was a broad-minded thinker, and we ought not to claim for him that he accepted any narrow economic creed.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(To Be Continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE

A TRAVELING SEMINAR IN ENGLAND

(A Letter from a Special Correspondent)

Dear UNITY:

Sherwood Eddy has brought out an entirely new and modern type of "seminar."

"Your seminar," said Bishop Gore to Mr. Eddy, "does not at all meet my idea of a seminar, where a group of sober upper class men and post-graduates, elbows glued round a big table, discuss weighty, serious themes. Looking over your programme this seems like a variety entertainment."

Yet the group of college students, professors, ministers, social workers, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, and newspaper writers which Mr. Eddy is taking through Eruope this summer, on a delightful tour, is officially called his "Fifth American Seminar."

We are now quartered, 100 of us, at the Toynbee Hall Settlement House, near Whitechapel, in what is perhaps the most wretched part of east London, and where saloons, taverns, and wholesale liquor houses are as numerous as real estate agencies in Palm Beach.

Here we have been privileged to sit at the feet of many of England's most distinguished public characters, the men and women who are making history, and here discuss, with questions and answers, the most important social, political and educational problems of today. We have heard members and ex-members of parliament, (Labor, Liberal, and Conservative) Bishops and other churchmen, labor advocates, and employers of labor.

Among those who have spoken to us are Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, Arthur Greenwood, Professor H. J. Laski of the London School of Economics, Seebohm Rowntree, one of England's most extensive employers of labor; Frank Hodges, of the miners union; Lord Eustace Percy and Ormsby Gore, both Conservative M.P.'s; Viscount Haldane, Bishop Gore, A. G. Gardiner, former editor of the Daily News; G. K. Chesterton, Norman Angell, Rev. F. W. Norwood, minister of the City Temple; Rev. Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford; Philip H. Kerr, editor of the Round Table; Robert Smilie, and Margaret Bondfield, formerly a Labor M.P.; and it does not yet appear who else we shall hear, for the end is not yet. We are spending 17 days in London, before going to Holland, Germany, Switzerland and France.

A distinct note of modern liberalism runs through all the discussions, and today we heard P. J. Rabinovich, introduced to us as a thorough going Bolshevist, and his talk proved it. Mr. Eddy's seminar is an education of the international mind, for I believe this group will carry back to America an interpretation of the present situation in Europe that will tend to promote a more intelligent understanding of facts, and to stress the sentiment, that above all nations, is humanity; an interpretation, promoting internationalism, squelching one hundred-percentism, and leading to the pathway of peace.

From the discussions and from my talks with various members of this group, most of whom are affiliated with orthodox churches, it would seem that modern humanism, notwithstanding the Tennessee trial, is making progress in America. If there are any fundamentalists in the group, I have not met them, nor heard from them. Among our number are Mrs. Londa Fletcher, representative of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace and Friends Service Committee, New York, Roy G. Hagstrom, Superintendent of Christ Mission Settlement, Youngstown, Ohio; Professor and Mrs. Jesse Holmes, of Swarthmore College; Professor J. L. Kesler of Vanderbilt University; Rev. Dilworth Lupton, minister of the First Unitarian Church, Cleveland; Ernest W. Mandeville, Editor of the *Churchman*, New York; Margaret Slattery, of Mass.; Rev. and Mrs. H. E. Benton, of the Universalist Church of the Messiah, Philadelphia and Richard R. Wood, Secretary of the Friend's Peace Committee, Philadelphia.

Most of our speakers suggest to my mind that we have come to a sad England, with a million and a quarter men out of work, with British exports constantly and rapidly declining, and with all the delicious fruits of war victory pictured by Lloyd George, shrivelled and crumbled to ashes. But many valiant souls are meeting the difficult problems with courage and working out a new creed of affirmation in life, calculated to choke pessimism, as well as to spell death to patriotic bigotry.

No note of discouragement was sounded by members of the British Labor Party. It is standing for a national ownership of the mines, for free trade, for the taxation of land values, in accordance with the philosophy of Henry George, and for local option to check the devastation of the liquor traffic.

Mr. Rowntree's address was a plea for a reasonable wage, a short work day, security in employment, and a sharing in the profits of business by the workmen. He defended unemployment insurance and old age pensions. Bishop Gore made a plea for the Armenians.

Mr. MacDonald said that pilgrimages like ours are having a wholesome effect on international relations. The old-time notion that international relations must be formal and cold is dead. It is not enough that Englishmen and Americans should have cause to congratulate themselves because they are not fighting each other; we want cordial sentiments of amity and good will leading up to a spiritual union, so that we may be thinking in common ways and tending toward common purposes.

Last Saturday and Sunday we spent at Oxford where we were quartered at Wadham College, a place of peculiar interest to me because the English Positivists, Dr. Richard Congreve, Professor Beesley, and Frederick Harrison (one of the greatest of English liberals) were members of this college. In an urn in the Wadham Chapel rest the ashes of Frederick Harrison, and his wife Ethel. An inscription on a marble tablet underneath the niche which contains the urn tells something of Mr. Harrison's distinguished services to mankind and that he was born on the 18th of October 1831 and died on the 14th of January 1923, in his 92nd year.

One Sunday I visited the Ethical Church of Dr. Stanton Coit. Although affiliated with the Societies for Ethical Culture, in America, I found the atmosphere of Dr. Coit's church very different. Dr. Coit, like August Compte, is evidently a believer in the usefulness of an elaborate ritual. I was surprised to find, when I entered the church, candles burning around the altar, a baptismal font in front of it and Dr. Coit clothed in a red cassock and flowing black robe, conducting a baptismal service. Three children were baptised with water

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

PURPOSE AND METHODS OF COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE

Commonwealth College was founded two years ago by a group of teacher-workers led by Professor William E. Zeuch, an educator and economist who has taught in several of the leading universities of the country, and Kate Richards O'Hare. It is now located on its own eighty-acre farm near Mena, Arkansas, the site being in the midst of one of the most beautiful sections of the Arkansas-Oklahoma Ozark mountain region. In objectives and ideas it differs somewhat from other worker schools that have recently been established in the United States.

First, it aims to develop in its students power for leadership service to their fellow workers. Hence it always strives to develop their personality and initiative.

Second, it seeks to demonstrate the practicability of self-maintaining higher education, which means that each student at Commonwealth performs, outside his or her academic work, a maximum of four hours of labor daily, on the farms, in the workshops, or at communal services, in exchange for which the student receives food, shelter and laundry. This arrangement is designed to cut expenditures to the minimum, to make the group a democratic unit, and to bind all to the realities of life, thus serving an economic, social and educational purpose. But Commonwealth is in no sense a "trade" or "industrial" school. Neither is it a propaganda institution. It sponsors no particular religious, economic or political creed or dogma; and, while it is open-minded to all "heresies," it is partial to none.

Third, it believes that the individual student should first of all know himself; that his health and highest efficiency demands that he be as thoroughly informed as our knowledge permits regarding his psychic and physical functioning.

Fourth, it holds that the student should have a good general working knowledge of the physical universe in which he finds himself, else he has not been truly educated.

Fifth, it maintains that it is necessary to know the social sciences in order to understand group behavior. In no other way can the student understand the complex order in which he must live and toil, and which grows more complex with every passing hour.

Commonwealth, therefore, defines education as opposed to teaching, as follows: "Educating consists of studying the individual student to determine his powers, capacity and peculiar individual characteristics so as to know how to develop him to the highest degree." On the other hand, "Teaching is the imparting of information." Yet, "one may be an excellent teacher and a poor educator or vice versa. The ideal instructor is, of course, a combination of both." From all this it is easily seen that Commonwealth holds mass educating an impossibility and, so, proposes to keep its student body small. Not more than fifty students will be admitted this, its third academic, year, the first semester of which begins on September 21, 1925, and the second on January 4, 1926.

The curriculum of Commonwealth is shaped with the above outlined ideas and objectives ever in view.

Commonwealth conceives Civilization to be the accumulated knowledge and instruments that Man has evolved to control the forces of Nature.

Culture, on the contrary, is a thing from within Man. Professor Zeuch, Director of the College, conceives "Culture and Religion to be identical." He says: "All great religious teachers were seeking the Good, the True, and the Beautiful in the realm of social behavior. They were seeking Man's ideal relationship to Man. This search was the basic impulse in the mind of every religious leader from Buddha to Tolstoy. Creeds were established which were supposed to embody this ideal relationship. In an ideal society culture and religion will be individual because of the individual coloring of all concepts. Culture is subjective in its manifestations. The truly cultured man never ceases searching for new light."

These things Commonwealth keeps in mind in its educational program and allows for individuality and diverging concepts. It believes that the most important thing in the fundamental constitution of the student is integrity, and that integrity plus a knowledge of the facts will do more to create personalities and sound leadership than propaganda in any of its forms. For this reason it believes that all education should be saturated with culture or religion. That is, the student should be made conscious of the fact that all educational processes are for the purpose of enabling the individual to better ascertain the good, the true, and the beautiful in all the domains of life, in poetry, in painting, in architecture, in sculpture, in music and in social behavior. It holds that the sickness of all educational systems today is due to the fact that they have lost sight of the real purpose of education.

With these purposes in view, no person will be admitted to Commonwealth except on formal written application, which must be approved by the Director, and accompanied by a certificate of good health. No individual under fifteen years will be admitted to the Preparatory Department, while entrance to the Collegiate Department, which covers three 30-week years of study, is open only to those having a secondary school education or its equivalent. Only students of promise will be admitted, and all showing themselves incapable of a high standard of work will be eliminated. But full information and application blanks may be obtained by writing the Executive Secretary, Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas.

Commonwealth's executives could hardly have chosen a better site than the present one for its location. The scenery is varied and delightful, the water pure, the air invigorating, the climate equable and healthful the year around. The only drawback is that all coming here before the College Community finishes its building program, which can be done only so fast as funds are donated for the purpose, will have to live under semi-pioneer conditions, and this all applicants should remember. But this should be "just that much more fun" to worker youth seeking to self-maintain themselves while acquiring a higher education.

COVINGTON HALL.

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and the spirit (of radicalism), and the ceremony was more elaborate than any similar ones which I have seen in Protestant churches. Each candidate was presented with three books, one by Thomas à Kempis, one by Marcus Aurelius, and a third, I think, was Dr. Coit's Message of Man. The last act of the ceremony was the placing af a wreath of flowers on the head of each of the children.

An inscription on the outside wall of Dr. Coit's Church says: "The Ethical Culture Church identifies God with the moral ideal, with the good that is in the human heart and with the world trend towards democratic justice and social equality. The Ethical ritual is inspired by the idea that the totality of all good is God. It aims to be suitable for adoption by all denominations. The great issues of the day in religion, politics, economics, art, philosophy, and ethics are treated in the discourses. A half hour's conference on the subject of the discourse is held after each service. Strangers are invited to attend the services and take part in the conferences. They can then judge for themselves the value of the Ethical Church in its work of re-construction of religion."

Over the church pulpit was a quotation from Charles Kingsley:—*"Still the race of hero spirits, pass the torch from hand to hand."*

We have had opportunity not only to see the poverty of London's East end, but have also witnessed some of the wealth of pomp and power in England for we visited Blenheim Palace, the home of the Duke of Marlborough (Mr. Churchill), Lambeth Palace, the home of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Fulham Palace where the Bishop of London lives, and one evening we attended a reception given by Lord and Lady Astor, at their magnificent home on St. James's Square.

The extremes of wealth and poverty are even greater in England than in America. Wealth is here, I believe more, firmly entrenched and strongly sustained in its determination to rule, by the old traditions of monarchy and aristocracy. Of English newspapers as well as those in America it may be said, as Allen McCurdy put it on a notable occasion, "The perusal of the public press is fast becoming an obstacle to the attainment of knowledge." I sometimes think Thomas Jefferson was right when he said, "There is nothing true in the newspapers, but the advertisements."

London, England. CHESTER C. PLATT.

Readers of UNITY who have received petition forms from Mr. Fawcett are respectfully requested to return them to him, or to UNITY office, as soon as possible.

THE ETHICAL CHURCH

WE BELIEVE in the Ideal of Truth, Beauty and Righteousness. It is the principle of Life, the benign and mighty Father of man's spirit, the God of reason, joy and love.

Its service is perfect freedom, with promise of the lordship of man over nature and over the wayward impulses of his own heart.

WE BELIEVE in those who have sacrificed for Truth and Righteousness and we look to them as Saviours of the world from error, ugliness and sin.

WE BELIEVE in man's effort to establish the Ideal on earth. It is the bond which will draw all nations into everlasting brotherhood of creative work.

THE IDEAL IS HOLY
ITS SERVANTS ARE HOLY
ITS COMMUNION IS HOLY

London, England.

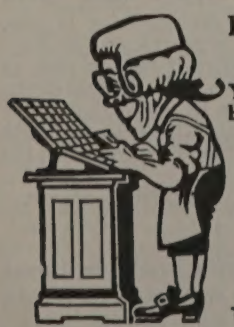
RESOLUTIONS ON CHINA

In view of the serious social and political situation in China, brought on and continued largely by the intrusion and aggression of foreign nations; and in order to show sympathy with their Chinese neighbors struggling for freedom . . . a meeting of American citizens, called by the Seattle Fellowship, to which the general public was invited, held in Plymouth Church, on July 16, 1925, adopted the following resolutions:

That for the peace of China as well as for the peace of all the nations bordering on the Pacific,

1. All extra-territorial privileges—such as land concessions, municipal government, and courts—should be abolished.
2. All other special privileges and unequal treaty rights should be abolished.
3. China should be left free to work out her own solution of industrial problems, such as child labor, right to organize, 12-hour day, etc., without interference from the outside.
4. All armed foreign forces should be immediately withdrawn.
5. Americans should be urged to show their sympathy in China's fight for freedom by contributing generously to "China's Freedom Fund." (Money may be sent to SHUNPAO—newspaper, Shanghai, China.)

We commend the efforts of President Coolidge and the State Department to bring about a conference of nations to consider the situation, and urge that the efforts to assemble a conference which shall free China from foreign domination be not relaxed.



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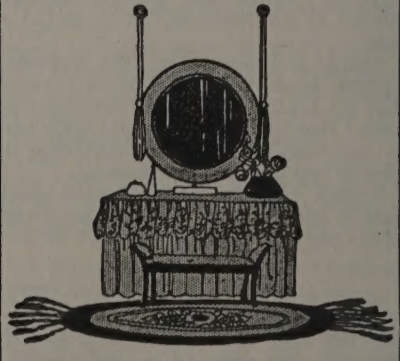

IN SEPTEMBER

Comes another putting in order of the home. Vacations over, children starting back to school, social activities soon to commence, many things to be cleansed and conditioned. All of which suggests the use of this service, which so expertly will restore your clothing and the rugs and fabrics of your home.

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